

James Edward Stuart's Claim 73
A Particular

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Pretender's Birth.

WHEREIN

The principal Relations of that important
Affair are Recited;

AND,

The Arguments, both for and against his LEGITIMACY,
are impartially Considered.



L O N D O N:

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ACCOUNT

OF THE

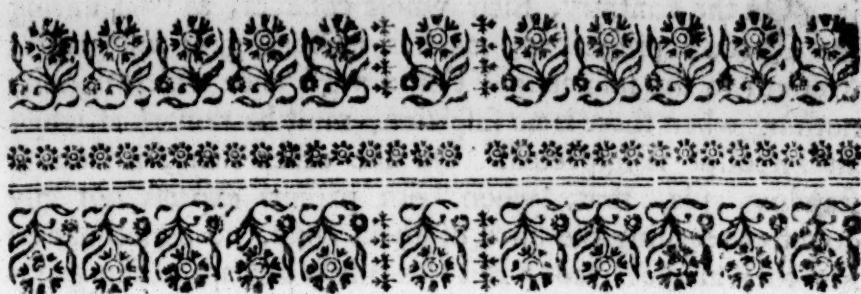
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A Particular

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Pretender's Birth, &c.

THE 10th of *June* 1688, will be remarkable for the birth of him, who, during the Life of the late King JAMES II. was known by the Name of the Prince of *Wales*, and afterwards by that of the *Pretender*. His birth was an occasion of triumph to the Papists, but of astonishment and terror to the Protestants, who saw their hopes defeated, that their Misfortunes would end with the death of the King. It is universally known, that the birth of this Prince has been very much suspected, and that many did then, and still do, believe it supposititious. Multitudes of Papers have been published for and against, some containing the grounds of the suspicions, and others, arguments to remove them. The Reader, doubtless, expects not the decision of a Fact which was never perfectly cleared, the imposture whereof rests only upon conjectures and probabilities, and the truth upon suppositions, which indeed are generally true, but of which it cannot be said, that it is impossible they may be sometimes false. In general, it is very certain, the Queen, during the whole time of her pregnancy, was suspected of a design to impose an heir upon the Kingdom, and this suspicion was very publick. It is also certain, that though the King and Queen knew of this suspicion, they took no care to remove

it. On the contrary, their whole conduct, as well during the Queen's pregnancy, as her labour, gave still greater strength to the suspicion. For a negligence which signifies nothing when there is no suspicion, must be remarked when an impostor is suspected. On the other hand, it seems a standing rule, that, when both parents express not any doubt concerning the birth of their child, no person can be sure they are deceived. But this rule is perhaps not so general and certain as many imagine. It is very good where there is no suspicion of a cheat. But in case a presumptive heir, disinherited by the birth of a child, who comes to take his place, has good proofs that the child is supposititious, certainly the bare owning of this child by both parents, will not invalidate proofs, which I suppose to be full. It is not impossible for a man and wife to suppose a child, thro' revenge, or some other interest, in order to deprive a presumptive heir of their inheritance. I say, it is not impossible, though it rarely happens. There are however instances to prove the possibility. Indeed, to decide by law, that a child is supposititious, very convincing proofs must be alledged, because the Judges, who are obliged to follow the rules of law, are not determined by appearances, however probable they may be. But the case is not the same with the publick, on whom very often conjectures grounded upon great probabilities, make as much impression as the strongest proofs. The affair in question having never been legally decided, I can only present the Reader with what has been most probably urged *pro* and *con*, in order to assist him either to be determined for or against the pretended supposition of the Prince of *Wales*, or to shew him, that he ought to suspend his judgment, till the thing is more plainly discovered. This I propose to do with impartiality, in producing the arguments alledged on both sides.

There are three opinions concerning the real or pretended birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

The first is, that the Queen was not with child when she pretended to be so, and that at the time of her pretended delivery, a son was supposed as being born of her. The second is, that she was really with child, but that having the misfortune of a miscarriage, she continued still to feign herself big, and at last supposed, or caused to be supposed, a child as born of her body, and that this child dying shortly after, another was substituted in his room, and to this, dying seven weeks after, succeeded another child. The third opinion is, that the Queen was really with child, and delivered the roth
of

of *June* of a son, the same who is since called the *Pretender*, and is now at *Rome*. In confirmation of the first of these opinions it is alledged: 1. That the King, for certain reasons, was become incapable of children. 2. That the Queen had been seven years without being with child. 3. That now she had never a constant reckoning. 4. That her delivery was sudden, and immediately after the removing of her lodgings. 5. That it was on a *Sunday* morning, when all the Protestant Court-Ladies were at Church. 6. That neither the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, nor the *Dutch* Ambassador were present at her labour, though they were the three persons who ought principally to have been there. 7. That during the labour, her bed was not left so open as it should have been. 8. That while she went with child, she never satisfied the Princess *Anne*, and many Protestant Ladies about her, of her big-ness, either by letting them feel her belly, or see her breasts. 9. Neither did she shew the Princess any of her milk after her lying-in. 10. That during her labour, a warming-pan was brought into the room, though the weather was extreme hot, and the room heated by a vast crowd of people. Lastly, it was alledged, that tho' the King, Queen, and Courtiers, sufficiently knew before the delivery, that the nation suspected an imposture, they did not use those precautions as they might and ought to have done in such a case; and, instead of putting it beyond all possibility of doubt, they left so many marks of suspicion, as caused infinite doubts and disputes: insomuch that some *Roman* Catholics themselves owned, *That so important an affair had been managed with great supineness and imprudence*. This is what Mr. *Echard* says, one of the most moderate Historians, who is not to be suspected by the King's adherents.

Dr. *Welwood* is very short in his account of this matter, and contents himself with giving the general opinion, without any thing of his own. These are his words:

“ While the Bishops were in the *Tower*, the *Roman*
 “ Catholics had their hopes crowned with the birth of a
 “ pretended Prince of *Wales*. The fears of a Protestant Suc-
 “ cessor, had been the only alloy that rendered their pro-
 “ perity less perfect. Now the happiness of having an heir
 “ to the Crown, to be bred up in their own Religion,
 “ quashed all those fears, and atoned for the uncertainty of
 “ the King's life. It was so much their interest to have
 “ one, and there were so many circumstances that seemed

“ to

“ to render his birth suspicious, that the nation in general
 “ were inclinable to believe, that this was the last effort of
 “ the party, to accomplish our ruin.

But the most circumstantial account of this affair, is that of Dr. Burnet Bishop of *Salisbury*, in the *History of his own Times*, published since his death. As I am to make some remarks on his testimony, it will be necessary to insert the following passage, wherein he expressly speaks of the birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

“ I must now look back to *England*, where the Queen’s
 “ delivery was the subject of all men’s discourse. And
 “ since so much depends on this, I will give as full and as
 “ distinct an account of all that related to that matter, as
 “ I could gather up, either at that time or afterwards.
 “ The Queen had been for six or seven years in such an ill
 “ state of health, that every winter brought her very near
 “ death. Those about her seemed well-assured, that she,
 “ who had buried all her children soon after they were born,
 “ and had now for several years ceased bearing, would have
 “ no more children. Her own Priests apprehended it, and
 “ seemed to wish for her death. She had great and fre-
 “ quent distempers, that returned often, which put all peo-
 “ ple out of their hopes or fears of her having any children.
 “ Her spirits were now much on the fret. She was eager
 “ in the prosecution of all the King’s designs. It was be-
 “ lieved, that she had a main hand in driving him to them
 “ all. And he, perhaps, to make her gentler to him in
 “ his vagrant amours, was more easy to her in every thing
 “ else. The Lady *Dorchester* was come back from *Ire-*
 “ *land*; and the King went often to her. But it was visi-
 “ ble, she was not like to gain that credit in affairs, to
 “ which she had aspired: And therefore this was less con-
 “ sidered.

“ She had another mortification, when *Fitz-James* the
 “ King’s Son was made Duke of *Berwick*. He was a soft
 “ and harmless young man, and was much beloved by the
 “ King: But the Queen’s dislike kept him from making
 “ any great figure. He made two campaigns in *Hungary*,
 “ that were little to his honour: For, as his Governor di-
 “ verted the allowance that was given for keeping a table,
 “ and sent him always to eat at other tables, so, tho’ in
 “ the siege of *Buda* there were many occasions given him
 “ to have distinguished himself, yet he had appeared in none
 “ of them. There was more care taken of his person,
 “ than

“ than became his age and condition. Yet his Governor’s
 “ brother was a Jesuit, and in the secret : So every thing
 “ was ventured on by him, and all was forgiven him.

“ In *September*, the former year, the Queen went to
 “ the *Bath*, where the King came and saw her, and staid
 “ a few Days with her. She after that pursued a full course
 “ of bathing : And having resolved to return in the end of
 “ *September*, an accident took her to which the sex is sub-
 “ ject ; and that made her stay there a week longer. She
 “ came to *Windsor* on the 6th of *October*. It was said,
 “ that at the very time of her coming to the King, her
 “ mother, the Dutcheß of *Modena*, made a vow to the
 “ Lady *Loretto*, that her daughter might by her means
 “ have a Son. And it went current, that the Queen be-
 “ lieved herself to be with child in that very instant in
 “ which her mother made her vow : Of which, some
 “ travellers have assured me, there was a solemn record
 “ made at *Loretto*. A conception said to be thus begun,
 “ looked suspicious. It was now fixed to the 6th of *October* :
 “ So the nine months were to run to the 6th of *July*. She
 “ was in the progress of her big belly, let blood several
 “ times : And the most astringent things that could be pro-
 “ posed were used.

“ It was soon observed, that all things about her person
 “ were managed with a mysterious secrecy, into which none
 “ were admitted but a few Papists. She was not dressed
 “ nor undressed with the usual ceremony. Prince *George*
 “ told me, that the Princess went as far in desiring to be
 “ satisfied, by feeling the motion, after she said she was quick,
 “ as she could go without breaking with her : And she had
 “ sometimes staid by her even indecently long in mornings
 “ to see her rise, and to give her her shift : But she never
 “ did either. She never offered any satisfaction in that
 “ matter by letter to the Princess of *Orange*, nor to any of
 “ the Ladies of quality, in whose word the world would
 “ have acquiesced. The thing upon this began to be sus-
 “ pected : And some libels were writ, treating the whole
 “ as an imposture. The use the Queen made of this, was,
 “ to say, that since she saw some were suspecting her capa-
 “ ble of so black a contrivance, she scorned to satisfy those
 “ who could entertain such thoughts of her. How just
 “ soever this might be, with relation to the libellers, yet
 “ certainly if she was truly with child, she owed it to the
 “ King and herself, to the King’s daughters, but most of
 “ all

“ all to the infant she carried in her belly; to give such
 “ reasonable satisfaction, as might put an end to jealousy.
 “ This was in her power to do every day: And her not
 “ doing it, gave just grounds of suspicion.

“ Things went thus on till *Monday in Easter week*.
 “ On that day the King went to *Rochester*, to see some
 “ of the naval preparations; but was soon sent for by the
 “ Queen, who apprehended she was in danger of miscar-
 “ rying. Dr. *Scarborough* was come to *Knightsbridge* to see
 “ Bishop *Ward*, my predecessor, who had been his antient
 “ friend, and was then his patient: But the Queen’s
 “ coach was sent to call him in all haste, since she was
 “ near miscarrying. Dr. *Windebank*, who knew nothing
 “ of this matter, staid long that morning upon an appoint-
 “ ment for Dr. *Walgrave*, another of the Queens phyfi-
 “ cians, who, the next time he saw him, excused himself;
 “ for the Queen, he said, was then under the most appa-
 “ rent signs of miscarrying. Of this the Doctor made
 “ oath; and it is yet extant.

“ On the same day, the Countess of *Clarendon*, being to
 “ go out of town for a few days, came to see the Queen
 “ before she went, knowing nothing of what had happen-
 “ ed to her. And she, being a Lady of the Bed-chamber
 “ to the Queen Dowager, did, according to the rule of the
 “ Court, go into the Queen’s Bed-chamber without asking
 “ admittance. She saw the Queen a-bed, bemoaning
 “ herself in a most doleful manner, saying often, *Undone*,
 “ *undone*: And one that belonged to her carried somewhat
 “ out of the bed, which she believed was linnen taken from
 “ the Queen. She was upon this in some confusion: And
 “ the Countess of *Powis* coming in, went to her, and
 “ said with some sharpness, What do you do here? And
 “ carried her to the door. Before she had got out of the
 “ Court, one of the Bed-chamber-women followed her,
 “ and charged her not to speak of any thing she had seen
 “ that day. This matter, whatever was in it, was hushed
 “ up: And the Queen held on her course.

“ The Princess had miscarried in the spring. So, as
 “ soon as she had recovered her strength, the King pressed
 “ her to go to the *Bath*, since that had so good an effect
 “ on the Queen. Some of her Physicians, and all her
 “ other friends, were against her going. *Lower*, one of
 “ her Physicians, told me, he was against it: He thought,
 “ she was not strong enough for the *Bath*, though the
 “ King

“ King pressed it with an unusual vehemence. *Millington*,
 “ another Physician, told the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, from
 “ whom I had it, that he was pressed to go to the Prin-
 “ cess, and advise her to go to the *Bath*. The person that
 “ spoke to him told him, the King was much set on it;
 “ and that he expected it of him, that he would persuade
 “ her to it. *Millington* answered, He would not advise a
 “ patient according to direction, but according to his own
 “ reason: So he would not go. *Scarborough* and *Witherby*
 “ took it upon them to advise it: So she went thither in
 “ the end of *May*.

“ As soon as she was gone, those about the Queen did
 “ all of the sudden change her reckoning, and began it
 “ from the King's being with her at *Bath*. This came on
 “ so quick, that though the Queen had set the fourteenth
 “ of *June* for her going to *Windsor*, where she intended to
 “ lie-in, and all the preparations for the birth and for the
 “ children were ordered to be made ready by the end of
 “ *June*, yet now a resolution was taken for the Queen's
 “ lying-in at *St. James's*, and directions were given to have
 “ all things quickly ready. The *Bath* Water either did
 “ not agree with the Princess, or the advices of her friends
 “ were so pressing, who thought her absence from the Court
 “ at that time of such consequence, that in compliance
 “ with them she gave it out it did not, and that therefore
 “ she would return in a few days.

“ The day after the Court had this notice, the Queen
 “ said she would go to *St. James's*, and look for the good
 “ hour. She was often told, that it was impossible upon so
 “ short a warning to have things ready. But she was so
 “ positive, that she said; she would lye there that night, tho'
 “ she should lye upon the boards. And at night, though
 “ the shorter and quicker way was to go from *Whitehall* to
 “ *St. James's* through the Park, and she always went that
 “ way, yet now by a sort of affectation, she would be
 “ carried thither by *Charing-Cross* through the *Pall Mall*.
 “ And it was given out by all her train, that she was going
 “ to be delivered. Some said it would be next morning:
 “ And the Priests said very confidently, that it would be a
 “ boy.

“ The next morning about nine o'clock, she sent word
 “ to the King, that she was in labour. The Queen Dow-
 “ ager was next sent to. But no Ladies were sent for: So
 “ that no women were in the room, but two dressers,

“ and one under-dresser, and the midwife. The Earl of
 “ *Arran* sent notice to the Countess of *Sunderland*; so she
 “ came. The Lady *Bellasis* came also in time. The
 “ Protestant Ladies that belonged to the Court were all gone
 “ to Church, before the news was let go abroad: For it hap-
 “ pened on *Trinity-Sunday*, it being that year on the tenth
 “ of *June*. The King brought over with him from *White-*
 “ *hall* a great many Peers and Privy-Counsellors. And of
 “ these, eighteen were let into the Bed-chamber; but they
 “ stood at the farthest end of the room. The Ladies stood
 “ within the alcove. The curtains of the bed were drawn
 “ close, and none came within them but the midwife, and
 “ an under-dresser. The Queen lay all the while a-bed:
 “ And in order to the warming one side of it, a warming-
 “ pan was brought, but it was not opened, that it might
 “ be seen that there was fire and nothing else in it. So here
 “ was matter for suspicion, with which all people were filled.
 “ A little before ten the Queen cried out as in a strong
 “ pain, and immediately after the midwife said aloud, she
 “ was happily brought to bed. When the Lords all cried
 “ out, of what? the midwife answered, the Queen must
 “ not be surprized; only she gave a sign to the Countess of
 “ *Sunderland*, who upon that touched her forehead, by
 “ which, it being the sign before agreed on, the King said
 “ he knew it was a boy. No cries were heard from the
 “ child; nor was it shewed to those in the room. It was
 “ pretended more air was necessary. The under-dresser
 “ went out of the room with the child; or somewhat else
 “ in her arms to a dressing-room, to which there was a
 “ door near the Queen’s bed; but there was another entry
 “ to it from other apartments. The King continued with
 “ the Lords in the Bed-chamber for some minutes, which
 “ was either a sign of much phlegm upon such an occasion;
 “ for it was not known whether the child was alive or dead:
 “ Or it looked like giving time for some management. Af-
 “ ter a little while they went all into the dressing-room, and
 “ then the news was published. In the mean while, no
 “ body was called to lay their hands on the Queen’s belly,
 “ in order to a full satisfaction. When the Princess came
 “ to town, three days after, she had as little satisfaction
 “ given her. *Chamberlain* the man-midwife, who was al-
 “ ways ordered to attend her labour before, and who brought
 “ the plaisters for putting back the milk, wondered that he had
 “ not been sent to. He went according to custom with the
 “ plaisters:

“ plaisters: But he was told they had no occasion for him.
 “ He fancied that some other person was put in his place;
 “ but he could not find that any had it. All that concerned
 “ the milk, or the Queen’s purgations, was managed still
 “ in the dark. This made all people inclined more and
 “ more to believe, there was a base imposture now put on
 “ the nation. That still increased. That night one *Hem-*
 “ *ings*, a very worthy man, an Apothecary by his trade,
 “ who lived in *St. Martin’s-Lane*, the very next door to
 “ a family of an eminent Papist, (*Brown* brother to the
 “ Viscount *Montacute*, lived there,) the wall between his
 “ parlour and theirs being so thin, that he could easily hear
 “ any thing that was said with a louder voice; he (*Hemings*)
 “ was reading in his parlour late at night, when he heard
 “ one coming into the neighbouring parlour, and say with
 “ a doleful voice, the Prince of *Wales* is dead: Upon which
 “ a great many that lived in the House came down stairs
 “ very quick: Upon this confusion he could not hear any
 “ thing more; but it was plain, they were in a great conster-
 “ nation. He went with the news next morning to the
 “ Bishops in the Tower. The Countess of *Clarendon* came
 “ thither soon after, and told them, she had been at the
 “ young Prince’s door, but was denied access: She was
 “ amazed at it; and asked if they knew her: They said
 “ they did, but that the Queen had ordered, that no per-
 “ son whatsoever should be suffered to come into him.
 “ This gave credit to *Hemings’s* story, and looked as if all
 “ was ordered to be kept shut up close, till another child
 “ was found. One, that saw the child two days after,
 “ said to me, that he looked strong, and not like a child
 “ so newly born. *Windebank* met *Walgrave* the day after
 “ this birth, and remembered him of what he had told him
 “ eight weeks before. He acknowledged what he had said,
 “ but added, that God wrought miracles. To which no
 “ reply could or durst be made by the other: It needed
 “ none. So healthy a child being so little like any of those
 “ the Queen had born, it was given out, that he had fits,
 “ and could not live. But those who saw him every day
 “ observed no such thing. On the contrary, the child was
 “ in a very prosperous state. None of those fits ever hap-
 “ pen’d, when the Princess was at Court; for she could
 “ not be denied admittance, though all others were. So
 “ this was believed to be given out to make the matter more
 “ credible. It is true, some weeks after that, the Court

“ being gone to *Windsor*, and the child sent to *Richmond*,
 “ he fell into such fits, that four Physicians were sent for.
 “ They all looked on him as a dying child. The King
 “ and Queen were sent for. The Physicians went to a
 “ dinner prepared for them; and were often wondering that
 “ they were not called for. They took it for granted that
 “ the child was dead. But, when they went in after dinner
 “ to look on him, they saw a sound healthy child, that
 “ seemed to have had no sort of illness on him. It was said,
 “ that the child was strangely revived of a sudden. Some
 “ of the Physicians told *Lloyd*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, that
 “ it was not possible for them to think it was the same child.
 “ They looked on one another, but durst not speak what
 “ they thought.

“ Thus I have related such particulars as I could gather
 “ of this birth: To which some more shall be added,
 “ when I give an account of the proof that the King
 “ brought afterwards to put this matter out of doubt; but
 “ by which it became indeed more doubtful than ever. I
 “ took most of these from the informations that were sent
 “ over to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, as I had many
 “ from the vouchers themselves. I do not mix with these,
 “ the various reports that were, both then and afterwards,
 “ spread of this matter, of which Bishop *Lloyd* has a great
 “ collection, most of them well attested. What truth so-
 “ ever may be in these, this is certain, that the method in
 “ which this matter was conducted from first to last was
 “ very unaccountable. If an imposture had been intended,
 “ it could not have been otherwise managed. The pretend-
 “ ed excuse that the Queen made, that she owed no satis-
 “ faction to those who could suspect her capable of such base
 “ forgery, was the only excuse that she could have made,
 “ if it had been really what it was commonly said to be. She
 “ seemed to be soon recovered, and was so little altered by
 “ her labour, either in her looks or voice, that this helped
 “ not a little to increase jealousies. The rejoycings over *Eng-*
 “ *land* upon this birth, were very cold and forced. Bone-
 “ fires were made in some places, and a set of congratula-
 “ tory addresses went round the nation. None durst op-
 “ pose them. But all was formal, and only to make a
 “ shew.”

After having related what has been said by Mr. *Echard*,
 and the bishop of *Salisbury*, on the birth of the Prince of
Wales, I shall make some remarks on this subject.

1. If the accounts of these two famous writers be carefully examined, it will doubtless be surprising, to find a sort of contradiction between them. For the suspicions mentioned by the first, are, that the Queen, tho' she pretended to be, yet was not with child. Nay, the Bishop of *Salisbury* seems at first to support this suspicion, by speaking of her great and frequent distempers; of her having for several years ceased bearing; of her having buried all her children soon after they were born; of her refusing to give satisfaction to the Princess of *Denmark*, and the Protestant Ladies of the Court. Nevertheless, he says positively afterwards, that she was really with child the 6th of *October* (1), and that in *Easter* week she had a miscarriage, that is, six months after conception. If this be true, it very plainly follows, that all the suspicions entertained of the Queen from the beginning of *January*, (the time of her declared pregnancy) to *Easter* week, ought to vanish, though she had been less careful of giving satisfaction to the publick, than she was. Assuredly this negligence is not capable to invalidate the reality of her pregnancy, if she had a miscarriage in the beginning of her seventh month. What the prince of *Denmark* told Dr. *Burnet* of his Princess's fruitless endeavours to see the Queen rise, cannot serve to confirm the suspicion of an imposture, unless it appear, that this was from the *Monday* before *Easter*, to the 10th of *June* (2). But the Bishop fixes no time. It might even be inferred from the order observed by the Bishop in his story, that what he says concerning the Princess of *Denmark*, passed between *January* and *Easter* week. But, supposing the reality of the pregnancy, it is clear, that the Queen might have given satisfaction to the Princess, and the Protestant Court-Ladies. And it cannot be denied, that she committed a great error in refusing to do it. But it is certain, this refusal proves nothing, if it be true that she was with child, at least till *Easter* week. The times are therefore carefully to be distinguished. Her obstinacy to give no satisfaction, from *January*, when she declared herself with child, to *Easter*

(1) He only says, "it went current, that the Queen believed herself to be with child on *October* 6." p. 7.

(2) It is here proper to take notice of the passage in Bishop *Burnet*. "That the Princess went as far in desiring to be satisfied by feeling the motion, after the Queen said she was quick, as she could go without breaking with her." *ibid*.

Easter week, can be ascribed only to an unseasonable and preposterous haughtiness. But it may be suspected, that from *Easter* week, to the 10th of *June*, she still pretended to be with child, when she was no longer so, and that she produced another at the time of her pretended delivery. Thus all the suspicions concerning the reality of her pregnancy, are to be included within the space of two months. For in the year 1688, *Easter-day* was the 15th of *April*; the Queen had a miscarriage the *Monday* before *Easter*, on the 9th of *April*; and she was delivered the 10th of *June*. But no time is fixed for this refusal of satisfaction to the publick, though, the Queen being six months gone when she miscarried, she might, for some time, have caused the motion of the child to be perceived.

2. In the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s account, are four several children. The first, which really belonged to the Queen, was an untimely birth of six months. The second was supposed at the time of her pretended delivery, and died the same day. The third was brought in the room of the dead child, and died also some weeks after at *Richmond*. The fourth, substituted in the room of the third, must be the present *Pretender*. It is surprising, that Mr. *Echard*, who probably writ the History of this reign, but twenty or twenty-five years after the time I am speaking of, should have heard nothing of these two last impostures, but confines himself to one, in what he relates concerning the publick suspicions.

3. *Fuller* who pretended to give an exact account of the cheats, agrees not with the Bishop of *Salisbury*. But I shall not insist on his testimony, because his pretended discovery has been little regarded.

4. It remains therefore to examine what the Bishop of *Salisbury* says, to make us suspect the supposition of the three last children. For, the first, which was but a miscarriage, according to this author, was really the Queen's. To this end, we are to distinguish three different times, namely, before, at, and after her delivery. I shall make some observations upon the most remarkable circumstances of each of these times.

1. The King's pressing the Princess to go to *Bath*, agrees very well with the design of supposing an heir. For the presence of the Princess at the Queen's pretended delivery, must have been perplexing, on account of her interest to detect the imposture. Had the King contented himself with barely advising her to go to the *Bath*, nothing could have been
inferred

inferred from it, but that he thought the *Bath* good for her health. But his pressing it with an unusual vehemence, and causing a Physician to be told, that he expected it of him that he would persuade her to it, seem to discover some secret design, especially, when it is considered, that an imposture was already suspected. This suspicion is farther confirmed by the change of the Queen's reckoning, and by her delivery two days after it was known, that the Princess was upon the point of returning from the *Bath*. But there must not be given to this cause of suspicion, more strength than it really has. For as it is very possible for the King to have believed, that the *Bath* would be of service to the Princess his daughter, the suspicion of his acting from another motive, is founded only upon the supposition of an imposture. If this was well proved, the King's proceeding would become a sort of a new proof. But as it is not, it seems that the suspicion ought not to be supported by the supposition of the fact in question.

2. If it is true, that the Queen did not believe herself with child till the 6th of *October*, and that she afterwards suddenly changed her reckoning, there is reason to suspect some mystery in it. And indeed, by this new reckoning she was to be brought to bed during the absence of the Princess of *Denmark*, whereas by the first she could not be delivered till after her return. To this may be added, that if it is true, that about the end of *September* she was stopped at the *Bath*, one week longer than she intended, by an accident to which the sex is subject, she could not be with child from the 10th of *September*, nor consequently brought to bed the 10th of *June*. To this it is answered, that these mis-reckonings are common to the whole sex. But this reason cannot take place here, because it did not appear that the Queen thought herself mistaken.

3. It cannot be denied, that there is something extraordinary in the Queen's sudden resolution, of going to lye-in at St. *James's*, when things were not ready. Hitherto no probable reason has been given of this sudden change, to shew that she could lye-in more commodiously at St. *James's* than at *Whitehall*, nor why she at first chose *Windsor* for the place, and fixed the time for the beginning of *July*.

4. I own I see nothing in the Queen's affectation of being carried to St. *James's* by *Charing-Cross*, through the *Pall-Mall*, to confirm the suspicion of an imposture.

5. I never heard that the presence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* is absolutely necessary at the delivery of the Queens of *England*, especially at that of a popish Queen, who could have no great need of his assistance.

As for the time of the Queen's delivery, there are many things to be examined:

1. The Queen after having declared her intention to lye-in at *St. James's*, without any apparent necessity, was bent to go thither on the *Saturday*, though nothing was ready. This is a sign, she thought it would be too late if she deferred going until the next day. It is therefore clear, that she expected the moment of her delivery every hour, and yet when she began to find herself ill, *No women were in the room but two dressers, one under-dresser, and the midwife.* Not one foreign Lady was in the Palace. It cannot be denied, that this was very extraordinary for a Queen, since it was so easy to have other Ladies at hand to assist her, and the more, as she hourly expected the moment of her delivery. It is no less extraordinary, that none of the Court-Ladies were called besides the Countess of *Sunderland*, by the particular care of the Earl of *Arran*; and the Queen Dowager, who lodged in *Somerset-House*, a great way from *St. James's*. All this seems to discover, it was not desired that many Ladies should be present at the labour. To this it is answered, that the Queen was surprized, as women frequently are, and that the Protestant Ladies were at Church. But some take occasion from hence to confirm their suspicion. They suppose, the Queen would not have gone with so much precipitation on *Saturday* night, to *St. James's*, if she had not known she should be delivered the next morning, while the Protestant Ladies were employed at their devotions. But after all, this is only a suspicion. For, who can be sure, that the Queen acted by the motive ascribed to her? All that can be said, is, that the point in question being a child who, if a boy, was to take place of a Princess, presumptive heir of the King her father, the King and Queen ought to have put his birth out of all doubt. Instead of this, they confirmed, by a mysterious conduct, suspicions which were already but too far spread, and of which they could not be ignorant. The empress *Constantia*, wife of *Henry VI.* proving with child at the age of fifty-two years, chose a place the most publick for her labour, and thereby removed all suspicion of the birth of her child. On the contrary, the Queen of King *James II.* for having neglected

lected all precautions, has left upon her son, real or pretended, a blot which has not yet been effaced.

2. The King's being at the further end of the room with eighteen Peers and Privy-Counsellors, is a circumstance which proves nothing at all. It is well known, that on these occasions men approach not the bed, to be eye-witnesses of what passes there. All they can do, is to be attentive to the cries of the mother, or the infant. Besides the King himself was not less suspected than the Queen.

3. As to the warming-pan brought into the Queen's chamber, and which is supposed to have in it a new-born child, this is only a conjecture founded upon the seeming uselessness of a warming-pan the 10th of *June*, which proved an excessive hot day. To this it is answered, that a labour is often attended with a quaking and trembling like an ague, which begins with a cold fit. This is what I know nothing of. It is also pretended, that it was impossible to put a new-born child, in the narrow compass of a warming-pan, without stifling it.

4. It is very extraordinary, that the Queen was not a full hour in labour; for the King was sent for at nine o'clock, and before ten the Queen was delivered. She cried out but once, in the moment of her delivery. When the mind is filled with suspicions, such circumstances help to confirm them. Those who are not in the same disposition, find nothing extraordinary in this; because the Queen had ever had easy and quick labours.

5. It is commonly true, that children, the moment they are born, and exposed to the air, are heard to cry. But I know not whether this can be considered as infallible. However, the Queen having neglected to give undoubted proofs of her pregnancy, every little uncommon circumstance was capable to confirm the suspicion of an imposture.

6. As to the stress that is laid upon the curtains of the bed being close drawn, this cannot seem strange, since there were eighteen Lords in the room.

7. The circumstance of the child's being not shewn, can cause no suspicion, but on supposition of the suspicion itself, which ought to have been removed, by shewing the child as it came from the womb. For, otherwise, it is not usually done, till the midwife has taken due care of the child. But if this is urged to prove, that a child was not taken out of the Queen's bed, the suspicion of the warming-pan must necessarily be suppressed; for had a child been put in the pan, it could also be taken out of it.

8. What is said of the *King's continuing with the Lords some minutes in the Bed-chamber*, and that it looked like giving time for some management, is a gloss which deserves little or no notice.

9. Those who believe the child in question not born of the Queen, would have had her take all the precautions which they themselves imagine, to destroy all sort of doubt, and the omission of one of these precautions is, with them, sufficient to confirm their suspicions.

10. If no satisfaction was given to the Princess of *Denmark* after her return from the *Bath*, it may be alledged, that she discovered no jealousy concerning the birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and as she appeared convinced of the truth, there was no necessity of giving her proofs.

11. The refusal of *Chamberlain's* plaisters would be very apt to cause a suspicion, if it was impossible for the Queen's breasts not to want them. But how many labours are there, which have no need of remedies for putting back the milk? However, the Bishop of *Salisbury* obviates this answer, by saying, that in her former labours, the Queen had always great plenty of milk.

12. What is said of the Queen's recovering so soon after her delivery, proves nothing. Some mothers have so easy labours, that in a few days one can hardly perceive any alteration in them. Besides, it is too general an expression to say, *the Queen seemed to be soon recovered*. The precise time should have been marked, that it might be judged, whether there was any thing extraordinary in it.

Nevertheless, all these reasons of suspicion laid together, make an impression upon many men, which each in particular would not be able to do. We must always recur to this point, that the King and Queen, knowing that they were suspected of an imposture, ought to have taken just measures to remove the suspicion, and not having done it, it is not very strange, it should continue to this day.

As to what passed after the delivery, I mean the supposition of two children, when the first was dead, the Bishop of *Salisbury's* account rests only upon the credit of some persons whom he has given for vouchers, and of others not named by him. There are besides several particulars, in proof of which he produces no testimony.

He supposes, that the child of which it was pretended the Queen was delivered, died the same day. This supposition is grounded upon what *Hemings* heard through the wall of his parlour, and upon the denial of access at the young Prince's

Prince's door to the Countess of *Clarendon*. All this may be of some weight, when a bare suspicion only is meant to be established. But if it is produced as a proof, the insufficiency of it, is easily seen.

The death of the second child at *Richmond* stands only upon the report of four Physicians, who were sent for to visit him. The Bishop does not make the Physicians positively say that the child died, but only that, *They all looked on him as a dying child*, and as they were not called for after dinner, *They took it for granted that the child was dead*. But this consequence is not absolutely necessary; for possibly they were not called, because the child grew better. But, says the Bishop, *When they went in after dinner to look on the child, they saw a sound healthy child, that seemed to have had no illness on him*. They inferred from this, that he was not the same child, and the Bishop concludes that the first was dead, and another put in his room. What is particular in this fact, is, that these four Physicians doubted, this was the same child, only because the first had been sick, and this was sound and healthy, as if all children at such an age were so like one another, that no feature could distinguish them. And yet, these Physicians thought, it was not the same child, only by the difference between a state of health and sickness. This is very surprising, since naturally the faces of the two children must have been so different, as not to need other marks (i).

In short, the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s whole account of these three impostures, rests either upon hearsay, or what he read in the informations sent to the Prince and Princess of O-

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range;

(1) Colonel *Sands*, who died in 1728. being in 1688. Gentleman-waiter to the Princess *Anne*, was sent by her from *Tunbridge* (where she then was) to Court, to enquire after her brother's health. Going up immediately to the King without ceremony or interruption, as is usual in such cases, he came into the room where the Prince lay. He saw there a pale long-visaged child, with red spots in his face, and other marks of weakness. This struck him so, that he took very particular notice of it: But presently after the Ladies in the room came and turned him out, saying, the Prince was asleep. At his going out he met the King, who asked him with a disturbed countenance, whether he had seen the Prince? *Sands* fearing he had done something amiss, denied it; upon which the King's countenance cleared up. Some time after he was called to look at the Prince; but saw a child of very different looks and complexion from that which he found before. All these particulars he committed to writing, and carried them to the Princess. *Contin. of Baker's Chron. Edit. 1730. p. 752.*

range; for he was then at the *Hague*. The senders of these informations were, probably, no friends of King *James*. It is therefore very possible, not to say likely, that they have aggravated their reports, and collected every circumstance, true or false, which was apt to perswade the Prince and Princess, that the Prince of *Wales* was supposititious. As for the Bishop of *Salisbury*, I am perswaded, he has related nothing but what he either heard, read, or believed to be true. But who can say, he was not deceived by prejudiced persons, who looked upon their suspicions as so many convincing proofs? I am aware, that all the *English* have not the same opinion of Dr. *Burnet* as I have. Volumes of remarks upon his History, in which he is violently abused, demonstrate, that the *Jacobites* consider him as the sworn enemy of *James II.*, and as deserving no credit. But as, for very good reasons, they have not thought proper to make remarks upon what he says of three supposititious children, it is not my business to guess what they could have said. I presume therefore he has invented nothing, without pretending, however, to warrant what he says upon the testimony of others.

But to give the reader a farther insight into this affair, it will be necessary to give him some account of the depositions which were afterwards taken about it.

While the Prince of *Orange* was making preparations for his expedition into *England*, a pamphlet was published in *Holland*, entitled, *A Memorial of the English Protestants, presented to their Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Orange*. It was ascribed to Dr. *Burnet*, or Major *Wildman*, wherein, after a long narrative of the grievances of the nation, the author complained of King *James's* obliging his subjects to own a supposititious child for the Prince of *Wales*, adding, *That his Majesty would never suffer the witnesses that were present at the Queen's delivery to be heard and examined*. The King was no stranger to the suspicions entertained by the people on this account, but hitherto had pretended to be ignorant of, or at least to despise them. He perceived, however, that on this occasion, he could not, without great prejudice to himself, help answering so publick a challenge. He therefore held an extraordinary Council the 22d of *October*, to which were called the Queen-Dowager, all the Lords spiritual and temporal then in town, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Judges, and several of his Majesty's learned Council. All these being assembled, the King told them, "He had called them together upon a very extraordinary occasion; but that extraordinary diseases must have extraor-
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dinary remedies : That the malicious endeavours of his enemies had so poisoned the minds of some of his subjects, that by the reports he had from all hands, he had reason to believe, that very many did not think this son, with which God had blessed him, to be his, but a supposed child. But, he might say, that by a particular Providence, scarce any Prince was ever born, where there were so many persons present. That he had taken this time to have the matter heard and examined there, expecting that the Prince of Orange, with the first easterly wind, would invade this Kingdom : And as he had often ventured his life for the nation before he came to the Crown, so he thought himself more obliged so to do now he was King, and did intend to go in person against him, whereby he might be exposed to accidents ; and therefore he thought it necessary to have this now done, in order to satisfy the minds of his subjects, and to prevent the Kingdom's being engaged in blood and confusion after his death : That he had desired the Queen-Dowager to give herself the trouble to come hither, to declare what she knew of the birth of his son ; and that most of the Ladies, Lords, and other persons who were present, were ready to depose upon oath their knowledge of the matter."

After this Speech, depositions were taken, first of the Queen-Dowager, who only said, *That she was in the room when the Queen was delivered*, without any thing more positive or particular. After her followed forty witnesses, of which seventeen were Papists, and it was begun with proving, that the Queen was brought to bed while many persons were in the room. To this tended the testimonies of the eighteen Lords who accompanied the King thither. This proof signified nothing, or was very ambiguous. It was well known, there were a great many persons in the room at the time the Queen was said to be delivered ; which doubtless, was all that was meant by this proof. But it was not sufficient to prove the reality of the delivery. Some of the Ladies deposed, that they saw the child soon after in the arms of the midwife. But as no man in the council durst put any questions to the witnesses, concerning several circumstances, these general depositions were incapable to remove all suspicions. The midwife deposed positively, that she took the child from the Queen's body. The Countess of *Sunderland* deposed, that the Queen called her to give her her hand, that she might feel how the child lay, *which*, added she, *I did*, but she did not say whether she felt the child or not.

The Bishop of *Salisbury* adds, That the Countess of *Sunderland*

land told the Dutchess of *Hamilton*, (from whom he had this particular) that when she put her hand into the bed, the Queen held it, and let it go no lower than her breasts, so that really she felt nothing. Many Ladies deposed, That they had often seen the marks of milk on the Queen's linnen near her breasts. Two or three deposed, That they saw it running out at the nipple. But what is remarkable, none of these Ladies named the time in which they saw the milk, except one, who named the month of *May*. Now if it be true, as was before related, that the Queen was really with child till the 9th of *April*, and that she miscarried that day, all that was mentioned of milk in the Queen's breasts, particularly by her that fixed it to the month of *May*, might have followed upon that miscarriage, and be no proof concerning the late birth. Mrs *Pierce* the Laundress deposed, That she took linnen from the Queen's body once, which carried the marks of a delivery. The Bishop objects here, that it is strange she should speak only to one time. The Lady *Wentworth* was the single witness that deposed, that she had felt the child move in the Queen's belly, but she fixed it to no time.

In general, see in few words the use that may be made of the suspicions mentioned by several authors, and of these depositions, namely, There being three cases, in none of which the two parties agree, the depositions are not applicable to any of the cases, without being contradicted by those who maintain one of the other two cases. Let us take for instance, the two depositions, which, next to that of the midwife, appear most convincing, namely, That of the Lady who had seen milk run from the Queen's breasts; and that of the Lady *Isabella Wentworth*, who had felt the child in the womb. These two testimonies are sufficient against those who maintain, that the Queen was not with child from *January*, the time of her declared pregnancy, to the 10th of *June*, the time of her delivery. But they are insufficient against those who pretend that she was really with child, from the 6th of *October* to the 9th of *April*, when she had a miscarriage, for the reasons before-mentioned. To be able therefore to give a certain judgment concerning the birth of the Prince of *Wales*, it is necessary, 1. That facts should be agreed in, I mean, whether it be true, that the Queen was really with child, and that she had a miscarriage. 2. That those who derive their suspicions from the Queen's obstinate refusal to give satisfaction to the publick, should fix the time of this obstinacy to the interval between the 9th of *April*, the day of her pretended miscarriage, and the 10th of *June*, the day of her delivery. For in supposing the reality of her pregnancy

pregnancy till *Easter week*, the suspicions arising from the Queen's obstinacy, cannot but be ill-grounded, unless this obstinacy is confined to the space of time, between the miscarriage and the delivery, which it is not. 3. That the two Ladies who deposed concerning the milk and the motion of the child, should have fixed the time to the same interval, otherwise their testimony proves nothing against those who maintain, that the Queen was really with child till *Easter week*, and had then a miscarriage; but this is what does not appear. As to the testimony of the midwife, which is the principal and most positive, all that can be objected to it, is, that it is a single testimony, and that besides she being a Papist, might have been corrupted. But this is only a conjecture, a bare possibility. It is therefore clear, that to decide this question in a manner capable to satisfy those who only seek the truth, a more perfect knowledge must be had of many circumstances which as yet lie concealed.

The King's precaution produced not the expected effect. The suspicion of an imposture was so deeply rooted in the minds of most of the *English*, that it was rather confirmed than removed by this examination. The mysterious conduct observed at a time when, considering the general suspicion, all possible precautions ought to have been taken to render the birth unquestionable, made a stronger impression than all these testimonies, and the rather, as they were found to be very defective. Before this examination, the presumption of law was for the Prince, since he was owned by both parents, so that the proof lay on the other side, and ought to be offered by those who questioned it. But after the King had undertaken to prove the reality of his son's birth, by forty witnesses, of which more than thirty said nothing material, and the rest fixed no time to what they deposed, he left room to his enemies to object against these very depositions.

The King's own testimony was not more effectual. After the witnesses were examined, he told the assembly, " That the Princess *Anne of Denmark* would have been present; but that she being with child likewise, and having not lately stirred abroad, could not come so far without hazard." Adding further, " That tho' he did not question but every person there present was satisfied before in this matter, yet by what they had heard, they would be better able to satisfy others: That besides, if he and the Queen could be thought so wicked as to endeavour to impose a child upon the nation, they saw how impossible it would have been; neither could he himself be imposed upon, having constantly been with the Queen during

during her being with child, and the whole time of her labour. That there was none of them but would easily believe him, who had suffered so much for Conscience sake, incapable of so great a villany, to the prejudice of his own children; and that he thanked God, that those who knew him, knew well, that it was his principle to do as he would be done by, for *that was the law and the Prophets*; and he would rather die a thousand deaths, than do the least wrong to any of his children."

The reasons alledged by the King in this Speech were far from being convincing, since those who believed the imposture, were perswaded, that the King was chiefly concerned in it, notwithstanding all his asseverations, which were but little regarded. It is a sad thing for a King not to be credited by the body of his Subjects. The depositions were solemnly enrolled in Chancery, and afterwards printed and dispersed among the people. But this did not prevent a general belief, that the Prince of *Wales* was supposititious. So this birth remains hitherto in uncertainty, and probably, will long remain so. For it must be observed, that after the King and Queen had withdrawn into *France*, there was no finding either the midwife or the Queen's Ladies, who had deposed the most material circumstances of the pregnancy or the delivery.

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